

MICHAEL PEARSON: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

Since the late 1960s, Michael Pearson's work has been at the forefront of the study of the Indian Ocean World. Pearson's unparalleled contribution to the field has long been recognized by his peers. In 1981, the famed historian of Goa, Teotonio R. de Souza, wrote in an introduction to one of Pearson's books that it 'will stand out as the best effort on the part of a non-Indian historian to do justice to the Indian component of Indo-Portuguese history.' In 2004, Pearson spoke to this acclaim in an interview with Frederick Noronha, a journalist-publisher based in Goa. He said: 'Certainly this is what I have wanted to achieve when I write about the Portuguese in India: to locate them in the Indian context in which they operated and by which they were constrained. This is a deliberate attempt to counter the triumphalism, and even racism, of much Portuguese writing on their empire.' But Pearson's influence was not limited to Goa and the coastal western India. Across nearly four decades of work, Pearson was always a leader in developing the *longue durée* approach to studying the Indian Ocean World.

To honor this influence, the editors of the *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies* have compiled an exhaustive bibliography of Michael Pearson's work. They have also appended short descriptions to some of his most important texts. Limited space meant that abstracts could not be attached to each reference. The editors decided that where they existed, abstracts written by Pearson or his co-editors would be prioritized. They then selected some of his works without abstracts to write their own abstracts or mini reviews (indicated with **). Particular prominence has been given to some of his earlier, lesser-known works. The intention was to use the space to reflect the diversity of Pearson's research, while highlighting some of its core themes.

2018, Co-editor, (with Mahmood Kooria), *Malabar and the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Malabar is a crucial place in the Indian Ocean World, but its historical diversity is largely unexplored. Seafarers and writers have described it in terms of its own cultural and social life; however, a complete historical description of the engagement of the Arabs, Persians, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British has still not been attempted. Unlike the existing studies that rely heavily on European sources, Malabar in the Indian Ocean calls the attention of researchers to the rich trove of unknown or underutilized indigenous and foreign source materials in different languages, such as Malayalam, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, and Latin. In addition, it highlights certain materials that bear archaeological, epigraphical, and architectural significance. Looking beyond the economics of the region and using translations of unpublished and rare sources, this volume highlights how the ocean has left a deep impact on the region's society, culture, religion, and politics, making it an exemplary cosmopolitan place.

2018, 'Charles Dellon's Journey through Malabar,' in *Malabar and the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, edited by Mahmood Kooria and Michael Naylor Pearson, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press): Ch. 6.

2015, Editor, *Trade, Circulation, and Flow in the Indian Ocean World*, (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan).

Trade, Circulation, and Flow in the Indian Ocean World is a collection which covers a long time span and diverse areas around the ocean. Many of the essays look at the Indian Ocean before Europeans arrived, reminding the reader that there was a cohesive Indian Ocean. This collection includes empirical studies and essays focused on particular area or production. The essays cover various aspects of trade and exchange, the Indian Ocean as a world-system, East African and Chinese connections with the Indian Ocean World, and the movement of people and ideas around the ocean.

2015, 'Introduction: Maritime History and the Indian Ocean World,' in *Trade, Circulation, and Flow in the Indian Ocean World*, edited by Michael Pearson, (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan).

2011, 'Medical Connections and Exchanges in the Early Modern World', Special issue of *PORTAL, Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, 8.2: pp. 1-15.

For most of human history there have been extensive exchanges of medical information all over Eurasia. Some diseases were considered to be geographically determined, and hence had to be cured using local knowledge. Other ailments were found in many places, but cures could differ according to location. This article shows that most healers, whether book based or experiential, took a non-judgmental approach to different healing methods, as seen especially in India in the early colonial period.

2011, 'History of the Indian Ocean: A Review Essay'. *Wasafiri*, 26.2: pp. 78-85.

2011, 'Life at Sea', in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800 CE*, edited by Om Prakash, (Noida: Pearson Education): pp. 633-658.

2011, 'Religion and the Sea', in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800 CE*, edited by Om Prakash, (Noida: Pearson Education): pp. 659-677.

2010, 'Islamic trade, shipping, port-states and merchant communities in the Indian Ocean, 7th-16th Centuries', in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. III, edited by M. A. Cook, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): pp. 317-365.

2010, Co-editor, (with Pamila Gupta and Isabel Hofmeyr), *Eyes Across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean*, (Pretoria: UNISA Press and Penguin India).

World attention is increasingly turning towards the region of the Indian Ocean as the coming strategic arena of the 21st century. India and China, the new economic superpowers, exert palpable global influence while also seeking control of shipping lanes and oil supplies, as well as a dominance in African markets and minerals. Al-Qaida continues to operate around the Indian Ocean littoral in Tanzania, Kenya, Comoros, Indonesia, and Yemen. The audacious Somali pirates astound international media audiences. As an arena in which these developments intersect, the Indian Ocean offers a privileged vantage point from which to track a changing world order. This collection of essays captures the complexities of these emerging Indian Ocean realities. What are the links, circuits, and exchanges that both unite and divide different regions? How does one factor Africa into this Ocean world? In doing so, they offer rich interdisciplinary perspectives and examine the interactions between Africa and India.

2010, 'Introduction: The Idea of the Ocean', in *Eyes Across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean*, edited by Pamila Gupta, Isabel Hofmeyr and Michael Pearson, (Pretoria: UNISA Press and Penguin India): pp. 7-14.

2010, 'Connecting the Littorals: Cultural Brokers in the Early Modern Indian Ocean', in *Eyes Across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean*, edited by Pamila Gupta, Isabel Hofmeyr, and Michael Pearson, (Pretoria: UNISA Press and Penguin India): pp. 32-47.

2009, 'Class, Authority and Gender on Early Modern Indian Ocean Ships: European and Asian Comparisons'. *South African Historical Journal*, 61.4: pp. 680-701.

This article provides a preliminary comparison of class, authority and gender on European as compared with Asian ships in the Indian Ocean in the early modern period. The argument is that on European ships aspects of familiar landed class divisions were evident, enforced by draconian punishments. These broke down when the ship was in danger, or when booty was to be had. Asking why on Asian ships punishments were comparatively milder, Pearson considers the presence of women as a potential factor, given there were many more women on Asian ships than on European ones. Other possible explanations for what seems to be a strong contrast between European and Asian ships are the length and danger of the various voyages, and the beginnings of 'modernity' in northern Europe as compared with 'Asia'.

2009, 'Communication in the Early Modern Indian Ocean World'. *Transforming Cultures*, 4.2: pp. 18-28.

People living on the shores of the early modern Indian Ocean spoke many languages. To communicate, whether for trade or other reasons, several strategies were found. The present study looks at silent trade, the possibly existence of *linguas franca*, and second languages widely spoken in the area. In this region, the two most commonly found were Portuguese and Arabic.

2008, 'Afterword', in *Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean*, edited by Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse, (London, Hurst and New York: Columbia University Press): pp. 357-372.

2007, Co-editor, (with Charles J. Borges), *Metahistory: History Questioning History: Festschrift in honour of Teotónio R. de Souza*, (Lisbon: Nova Vega). **

This Festschrift in honour of Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza, is a work that well represents trends and analysis in present day research in the fields of Goan, Indo-Portuguese

and Asian studies. The essays in the volume are divided into two main sections: Goa and India/Portugal/Asia.

2007, 'East Africa and the Indian Ocean World', in *Metahistory: History Questioning History: Festschrift in honour of Teotónio R. de Souza*, edited by Charles J. Borges, (Lisbon: Nova Vega): pp. 485-495.

2007, 'Creating a Littoral Community: Muslim reformers in the early modern Indian Ocean World' in *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*, edited by Charles Parker and Jerry Bentley, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield): pp. 155-165.

2007, 'Studying the Indian Ocean World: Problems and Opportunities', in *Cross Currents and Community Networks: Encapsulating the History of the Indian Ocean World*, edited by H.P. Ray and Edward Alpers, (New Delhi: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, and Oxford University Press): pp. 13-32.

2007, 'Markets and Merchant Communities in the Indian Ocean: Locating the Portuguese', in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800: A collection of essays*, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, (New York: Cambridge University Press): pp. 88-108.

2006 'Portuguese and Indian medical systems: commonality and superiority in the early modern period'. *Revista de Cultura*, 20: pp. 116-141.

2006, 'Coastal communities and maritime history'. *History in Focus*, 1.

2006, 'Afterword', in *Cosmopolitanism Contested: Anthropology and history in the western Indian Ocean*, edited by Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse, (London: Hurst).

2006, 'Littoral Society: the concept and the problems'. *Journal of World History* 17.4: pp. 353-373.

In any study of seascapes, an investigation of the littoral must be central, for it is here that land and sea meet. Is there such a thing as littoral society? Is it possible to go around the shores of an ocean, or a sea, or indeed the whole world and identify societies that have more in common with other littoral societies than they do with their inland neighbors? If so, do these societies draw more on their forelands- that is, their maritime connections- than on their hinterlands? Fishing peoples, who ostensibly are quintessential littoral peoples, exemplify the difficulties of this identification. While their men draw their livelihood from the sea, their women engage in processing

and marketing on land, and the whole fishing community is dependent on land based economic forces. Many fishing communities engage in agriculture as well as piscatorial activity. Concepts of littoral society need to be sensitive to gradations along the strand, from the more aquatic Marsh Arabs and peddlers at the floating markets in Bangkok to peasants who happen to live on the coast. Three criteria in particular need attention: location, occupation, and culture.

2005, Editor, *The World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800: Studies in Economic, Social and Cultural History*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers). **

This is a collection of some of Pearson's most-cited and important articles on Indian Ocean history that were originally published between 1968 and 2001. They describe the activities of people living on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, generously defined, during the early modern period. Most are based, at least in part, on Portuguese materials. A broad theme linking them all is the claim that in most areas of society and economy, early modern Europeans and Asians had much in common, with the newly arrived Europeans having no particular advantage over their Asian interlocutors. The first five studies discuss aspects of trade and commerce, while the next group deal with social and religious themes, including conversions and a much-quoted early attempt to investigate 'littoral society'. The third section presents four discussions of aspects of the early contact between Indian and European medical systems.

2005, 'Social Work in the Portuguese Empire'. *Campus Social: Revista Lusófona de Ciências Sociais*, 2: pp. 108-113.

Historians who approach the study of Portugal 'from the outside' tend to be critical of the poor performance of the Portuguese Empire. Their harsh critiques of the empire's religious intolerance and use of excessive violence is well grounded and difficult to reject out of hand. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that Portuguese colonial history is also made up of positive and less violent elements. The Portuguese should be considered pioneers of social assistance through their innovative policies that provided care for the sick and disgraced, although these policies did not cover the non-Christian subjects of the empire.

2003, *The Indian Ocean* (London and New York: Routledge).

In this stimulating and authoritative overview, Michael Pearson reverses the traditional angle of maritime history and looks from the sea to its shores - its impact on the land through trade, naval power, travel, and scientific exploration. This vast ocean, both connecting and separating nations, has shaped many countries' cultures and ideologies through the movement of goods, people, ideas and religions across the sea. The Indian Ocean moves from a discussion of physical elements, its shape, winds,

currents and boundaries, to a history from pre-Islamic times to the modern period of European dominance. Going far beyond pure maritime history, this compelling survey is an invaluable addition to political, cultural and economic world history.

2001, 'A hazardous embarkation: writing history of the Indian Ocean'. *Indica*, pp. 145-152.

2001, 'The Portuguese in India and the Indian Ocean: an overview of the sixteenth century', in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European bridgeheads 1500-1800: Festschrift in honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, edited by P. Malekandathil and J. Mohammed, (Tellicherry, Kerala: Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities of MESHAR): pp. 49-66.

2001, 'Hindu medical practice in sixteenth-century Western India: Evidence from Portuguese sources'. *Portuguese Studies*, 17: pp. 100-113. **

Drawing on Portuguese sources, Pearson considers the medical practices in sixteenth-century Western India, moving away from a previous focus on medical theory, while also discussing the difficulties of using archives from this period. In doing so, Pearson shows how specific and regionally different practices emerged over time particularly between Malabar and Goa.

2001, 'Asia and world precious metal flows in the early modern period', in *Evolution of the world economy, precious metals and India*, edited by J. McGuire, P. Bertola, and P. Reeves, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press): pp. 21-58 **

In this chapter, Pearson follows the movement of precious metals from East Africa outwards, tracing global networks that emanate out into the Indian Ocean world. The chapter focuses primarily upon the trade between cowries and slaves, but also considers silver and gold flows.

1998, *Port Cities and Intruders: the Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

Over many centuries, the Swahili coast of East Africa had intricate connections with India, with the Islamic world and with the peoples of the interior. There was major economic, social and religious interchange. The intrusion of the Portuguese in the 16th century was merely the latest of many foreign influences. This study in world history examines a particular time and place to show the diversity and complexity of cultural and economic contacts.

1998, 'Indians in East Africa: the early modern period', in *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World: Essays in Honour of Ashin Das Gupta*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press): pp. 227-249 **

As part of a series of essays honoring another pioneer in the study of the Indian Ocean world, Pearson examines trade in the early modern period, with a particular focus upon Mozambique and the Zambezi valley.

1998, 'Early relations between the Portuguese and Gujarat: a new overview'. *Indica*, pp. 81-96.

1996, Guest co-editor, *Asia and Europe: Commerce, Colonialism and Cultures: Essays in Honour of Sinnappah Arasaratnam*. Special issue of *South Asia*, 19.

1996, Editor, *Spices in the Indian Ocean World* (Aldershot: Variorum). (Also published as an ebook: Oxford: Routledge, 2016).

Exotic, valuable and of cardinal importance in the development of world trade, spices, as the editor reminds us, are today a mundane accessory in any well-equipped kitchen; in the 15th-18th centuries, the spice trade from the Indian Ocean to markets all over the world was a major economic enterprise. Setting the scene with extracts from Garcia da Orta's fascinating contemporary Colloquies on the drugs and simples of India [Goa 1563], this collection reviews trade in a wide variety of spices, exploring merchant organisation, transport and marketing as well as detailing the quantitative evidence on the fluctuations in spice trade. The evidence and historical debates concerning the 16th-century revival of the Mediterranean and Red Sea spice trade at this time, are fully represented here.

1996, *Pilgrimage to Mecca: the Indian Experience*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener).

For over a thousand years, tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of Muslim Indians have been making the pilgrimage to Mecca, the hajj, year after year. In the early modern period a route over the Indian Ocean was followed, producing an entanglement of politics, trade, and religion. Mughal rulers financed the hajj for their subjects and also used it to send rebellious wives and scholars into exile; the Portuguese navy pirated pilgrim and merchant vessels bound for Mecca, killing passengers and crew members, taking hostages, and robbing and extorting transfer permits to Mecca, all in the name of Christianity. Sunni pilgrims from India using the land route were also harassed by Shiite rulers in Persia, but Mameluks and Ottomans tried to protect pilgrim caravans from predatory Bedouins. In Mecca 'donations' were demanded by some sharifs, local merchants excluded 'infidels' from trade, and pilgrims tried to earn money by selling off wares from home. It is against this

backdrop that Pearson explores the hajj from Mughal India. He discusses the religious motivation and actual experience of those who undertook it, and closely analyzes the political and economic dimensions of the pilgrimage. This groundbreaking book reveals the vital importance of the hajj for Islamic and world history, as well as that of the Indian Ocean.

1995, ‘The Thin End of the Wedge: Medical Relativities as a Paradigm of Early Modern Indian-European Relations’. *Modern Asian Studies*, 29.1: pp. 141-170. **

In this article, Pearson focuses on developments in European medical theory and practice to examine when and in what ways European methods proved superior to those of South Asia. While the difference became most apparent from the time of the Industrial Revolution, and the series of technological innovations it stimulated, the processes that resulted in the Industrial Revolution dated back much further – although to when is a matter of considerable scholarly contention. Traditional European medical practice derived from the belief that there existed four humours or bodily fluids, and that disease emanated from an imbalance in one or more of these humours, while the timing of intervention (often in the form of ‘bleeding’) was decided by astrology. However, European medical practice drew heavily on Islamic knowledge which in turn was influenced by Greek thought and the even older Vedic knowledge system – a system that kept evolving as Indian doctors and surgeons continued to examine the symptoms and causes of disease, and the use mineral and vegetable elements in articular in treating illness. As such, early observant European visitors including medical practitioners saw little qualitative difference between local and European medical theory and practice. Indeed, some Indian practices were, in the early modern period, transferred from India to Europe. However, while it had its roots in the Renaissance, European scientific medicine, based on empirical evidence, only became widespread from the end of the eighteenth century.

1994, *Pious Passengers: The Hajj in earlier times*, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers; London: C. Hurst and Co). **

In this book, Pearson interprets the history of the hajj from a novel perspective: that of an economic historian. While wide-ranging, it draws notably upon the relationship between Mughal India and the hajj. Pearson underscores the need of pilgrims to engage in trade en-route to Mecca in order to pay for their pilgrimage, but concurs with the findings of Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pas for the eighteenth century that most pilgrims possessed few resources, and that most of the ‘hajj trade’ was concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy merchants. The trade thus encompassed both low value goods such as provisions and religious souvenirs, and high value commodities such as pearls and Chinese porcelain. Of notable importance is Pearson’s observation that

the hajj and the trade associated with it was determined by two often contradictory imperatives: the monsoon winds which dictated maritime travel, and the arrival and departure dates of hajj pilgrims, which were determined by the lunar calendar.

1993, 'The Flows and Effects of Precious Metals in India and China: 1500-1750'. *Annales 2.2*: pp. 51-69.

1991, 'Pilgrims, Travellers, Tourists: the Meanings of Journeys'. *Australian Cultural History*, 10: pp. 125-134.

1990, 'The Estado da India and the Hajj'. *Indica*, 26: pp. 103-118.

1990, 'Conversions in South-east Asia: Evidence from the Portuguese Records'. *Portuguese Studies*, 6: pp. 53-70

1989, *Towards Superiority: European and Indian Medicine 1500-1700*. The James Ford Bell Lectures No. 27 (Minneapolis: The Associates of the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota).

1988, *Before Colonialism: Theories on Asian-European Relations, 1500-1750*. (Delhi: Oxford University Press). **

This book contains three of Pearson's lectures on general problems and theories in history. The first lecture, 'The Modern World-System Theory,' discusses the work of the American sociologist, Immanuel Wallerstein, as well as its criticisms. This is the most general of the lectures and sets out the broader context for his own critique of Wallerstein's and others' works in the subsequent lectures. The second lecture, 'The Modern World-System and European Expansion in Asia to 1750,' tests Wallerstein's theories as they pertain to the European presence in South Asia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Pearson argues that Wallerstein's assertions in this regard are generally unfruitful, and points readers instead to the multiplicity of European experiences in Asia. Finally, in the third lecture, 'Alternative Views of European Expansion in Asia,' Pearson puts forward his own ideas for tackling the history of the Indian Ocean World as an integrated region. Key to this discussion are trade, ideas, religion, and maritime communities' relationships with their littorals. As he conceded, these were only preliminary ideas, but they featured prominently in much of the subsequent scholarship on the Indian Ocean World.

1988, 'Brokers in Western Indian Port Cities: Their Role in Servicing Foreign Merchants'. *Modern Asian Studies* 12.3: pp. 455-472. (Also published in *Asian Trade and Civilisation: Studies in Honour of C.R. Boxer*, edited by G. Bouchon and P-Y. Manguin. Cambridge University Press, 1990.) **

In this article, Pearson elucidates the role of one category of merchant within the complex set of structures that facilitated trade in some of Western India's port towns: the broker. Brokers 'smoothed' transactions and took commissions for doing so. Pearson focuses on Calicut, Diu, and Cambay during the sixteenth century, and notes the different demographics that constituted the people who were brokers, and the varying levels of influence that brokers had in each locality. In establishing divergences between each town, Pearson suggests government, hinterland relationships and production, and *longue durée* historical trends as shaping the brokers' position. He, furthermore, suggests that more research needs to be done, most significantly on commissions and the provision of capital. Such research would help to situate brokers' importance within the contexts of maritime commerce and port town society.

1987, Co-editor, (with Ashin Das Gupta), *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, (Calcutta: Oxford University Press). (Second edition printed by Oxford University Press in New Delhi.) **

This edited volume, for which Pearson wrote the first of two introductions and a standalone chapter (see below), explores the connections between maritime India and the Indian Ocean. Its purpose was to challenge Eurocentric perspectives whose historical themes were primarily commercial and economic. In this context, Pearson and Gupta argued that Europeans were not central to India and the Indian Ocean's histories in 1500-1800; instead, Europeans participated within ongoing structures (with varying degrees of success). The first part of the volume is organized chronologically, with chapters on India and the Indian Ocean in different centuries; the second part is organized regionally, with separate chapters on different Indian Ocean regions' relationships with the ocean itself. The key thrust of the volume is that pre-existing structures were remarkably resilient in the face of European influence in 1500-1800.

1987, 'Introduction I: The State of the Subject,' in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, edited by Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson, (Calcutta: Oxford University Press): 1-24.

1987, 'India and the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century', in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, edited by Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson, (Calcutta: Oxford University Press): 71-93. **

Here, Pearson contests the prevailing historiography of sixteenth-century India and the Indian Ocean, which, he argues, attributes too much importance to the Portuguese. In this context, he builds on some of his previous work, in which he emphasizes the high levels of continuity between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Goa. Speaking more broadly of maritime India, though, Pearson argues that merely correcting impressions of Portuguese eminence is unsatisfactory. The Portuguese were just one of many influences in maritime India's sixteenth century. Pearson thus analyzes them alongside other groups, such as the Gujaratis and Moplahs. The overall impression gained from the chapter is continuity over time. Despite the apparent 'newness' of the Portuguese arrival, the trajectories that were established during India's fifteenth-century maritime history endured during the sixteenth century.

1987, *The Portuguese in India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). (Reprinted in 1990. *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. I. Indian edition printed in 1989 by Orient Longman, Bombay. Second Indian edition printed in 1990. Portuguese translation from Editorial Teorema printed in 1991. Paperback edition from Cambridge University Press printed in 2006.) **

This book represents twenty years of research into Indian history generally, and of the Portuguese role in it specifically. It naturally builds on numerous key threads from Pearson's previous journal articles and chapters. Key themes include: the multiplicity of the Portuguese impact in different regional and temporal contexts; the situating of Portuguese influence within the broader trajectories of Indian history; and the contesting of Eurocentric perspectives. Before Pearson's scholarship, the core stated conclusion at the opening of the book would have seemed controversial. He argues that there was 'much more co-operation and interaction [between the Portuguese and the peoples of India] than domination' (p. 2). Using older perspectives, this statement may have been construed as apologetic to European imperialism in the Indian Ocean World. However, Pearson argues that even at the height of their influence, the Portuguese did not have the power to 'dominate,' even though some officials may have wished to have done so. Thus, 'co-operation and interaction' were a necessity born out of the nature of their position. It was only under the British that Europeans gained the necessary power to enact what are now regarded as the most deleterious effects of colonialism.

1987, 'Maritime History: Theory and Empirical Testing'. *Asian Studies Review*, 11.1: pp. 23-31. **

In this article, Pearson draws on some previously-published and some ongoing research to elucidate his thoughts on maritime history and the definition of the Indian Ocean. He begins with a question that historians continue to wrestle with and attempt to address in almost all publications that approach the Indian Ocean World as a macro-region: 'How do we define, categorize, abstract and isolate this entity (if indeed there is one) of an Indian Ocean?' (p. 23). In suggesting the ways in which historians might answer this question, he most notably cites and critiques Fernand Braudel, K.N. Chaudhuri, and Immanuel Wallerstein, who all directly or indirectly shaped early understandings of Indian Ocean history. Within his own research agenda, he calls for more research into the nature of maritime trade during the sixteenth century. This would, he argues, help to answer more general questions about the nature of ties and connections as well as the degree of unity in the pre-colonial Indian Ocean World.

1986-87, 'The Mughals and the Hajj'. *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 17-19: pp. 164-179. **

This short article first discusses briefly the attitude of the Muslim Mughal emperors of India to Islam in general, and then describes in some detail their relationship to the central Muslim ritual of the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca. In part they acted as pious Muslim rulers, who wanted to make it possible for their Muslim subjects to make this journey. However, there were political implications also. To sponsor the *hajj* was to stand out as a defender of Islam. Sending a noble on *hajj* was however also often an acceptable method to temporarily move troublesome subjects, or punishment. Similarly, the relations of the Mughals with the rulers of Mecca show a mix of piety and politics. While most of the data is to do with the Mughals, Pearson at times touches on the policies of other Muslim rulers in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

1986, 'The Hajj (Pilgrimage) from Mughal India: Some Preliminary Observations'. *Indica*, (Heras Institute Diamond Jubilee Number) 23: pp. 143-158.

1986, 'Carnations, Captains and Communists: Burchett on Portugal', in *Burchett Reporting the Other Side of the World, 1939-1983*, edited by Ben Kiernan (London: Quartet Books): pp. 279-287.

1985, 'Land, Noble and Ruler in Mughal India', in *Feudalism: Comparative Studies*, edited by Sir Edmund Leach, S.N. Mukherjee and John O. Ward (Sydney: Sydney Studies in Society and Culture): 175-196. **

Here, Pearson qualifies understandings of land in Mughal India within the context of broader conceptions of feudalism in European and global history. In keeping with the broader trajectory of his scholarship, Pearson makes no attempt to address the applicability or otherwise of European models to a pre-European Asian society. Instead, he explores intersections of land and political structure in Mughal India on their own merit. He notes how Mughal rulers did not seek to 'own' land itself, but rather to control it and its potential products. Yet, Mughal power over land and its products was not absolute. Conflict, competition, and contact over land between rulers, nobles, chiefs, *zamindars* (landholders), and *mansabdars* (office holders) pervaded the political structure. Also, land was not merely an economic resource. Control of land and a perceived connection to it was associated with prestige and status amongst the elite. Coupled with the absence of 'serfs' in Pearson's discussion, this phenomenon points to the primarily 'horizontal' extent of 'feudalism.' If Mughal India is to be considered 'feudal,' then the feudal structure was limited to the elite.

1985, Editor, *Legitimacy and Symbols: the South Asian Writings of F.W. Buckler. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia*, no. 26. (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan). **

This edited volume, for which Pearson also wrote the introduction, is a collection of the works of F. W. Buckler, a late-colonial-era oriental and church historian of India. Pearson's contention was that Buckler was 'ahead of his time' for the ways he contested European, imperial, and church understandings of Asian matters. This is primarily visible through Buckler's work on political theory, most notably regarding issues of legitimacy and juristic bases of power. In these contexts, Buckler explored perspectives from within India itself, rather than being bound by perspectives that he deemed 'Eurocentric.' Through Buckler, Pearson traced some of the earliest historical thinking that influenced his own scholarship.

1985 'Littoral Society: The Case for the Coast'. *The Great Circle*, 8.1: pp. 1-8. **

This short article firstly notes a series of historiographical problems, namely with maritime history, the history of port cities, and imperial/colonial histories. The first two, Pearson argues, have the capacity to be too narrow; the latter to be Eurocentric. He thus suggests the study of littoral societies as a solution that could bind and expand on all these ostensibly disparate thematic perspectives. In his analysis, histories of the littoral could be more holistic, in that they involve both land and

sea, and they could allow for the imperial impact on the coast and sea to be situated within the longer histories of previously-established peoples. Pearson then goes onto explore what defines or constitutes a 'littoral society.' He suggests that it is better to understand littoral societies in relation to a continuum between land and sea, than it is to set fixed geographical boundaries between them.

1985, 'The Indian Ocean and the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, pp. 102-117. (Lisbon).

1984, 'Goa during the First Century of Portuguese Rule.' *Itinerario* 8.1: pp. 36-57. (Also published as 'The First Century of Portuguese Rule in Goa' in Vice-Almirante A. Teixeira da Mota: *In Memoriam* 1987: pp. 251-266.) **

This article builds on Pearson's 1979 extended abstract, 'Looking Outward' in Dilip Basu's edited volume, *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*. Many of the same themes are addressed in both, but this article is more detailed and has additional themes added, including social, religious, and demographic considerations. In this article, Pearson seeks to address continuity and change in sixteenth-century Goa in relation to the previous century. Like many of his peers at this time, Pearson, stresses continuity in this context. Portugal's influence on Goa's broader historical trajectory was limited in the sixteenth century. Pearson, nevertheless, contributes two core original factors for the high degree of continuity. Firstly, the Portuguese were not motivated to affect generic change. Rather, they desired to alter or re-direct existing patterns. Secondly, Portugal and India's political and economic structures were not dissimilar. Both were 'pre-modern' and 'pre-industrial.' This meant that, motivated or not, the Portuguese were unlikely to alter Goa's structural composition.

1984, 'South Asian History'. *Asian Studies Review*, 8.1: pp. 3-5. **

In this article, Pearson is one of three historians (the other two being S.T. Leong and Jim Masselos) to respond to questions on the condition of Asian history in Australia. All three commented on recent contributions to the field, interactions between Asianists and other historians, collaborations between Australian and Asian historians, and the teaching of Asian history in Australia. References to the importance of the burgeoning 'subaltern studies' were the most prescient.

1984, 'Recreation in Mughal India.' *British Journal of Sports History*, 3: 335-350.

1984, “V.M. Godinho and ‘Os Descobrimentos’: A Critical and Bibliographical Note’. *Indica* 16.1: pp. 29-38.

1982, ‘Premodern Muslim Political Systems’. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102.1: 47-58. **

Older studies of politics in premodern Muslim states tended to focus narrowly on the activities of the politico-military élite, and to exaggerate the powers of this élite over the subject population. Subsequently researchers emphasized the roles of guilds and quarters in Islamic cities. Most recently the integrative role of the ulama and state in breaking down this implied particularism has been stressed. Building on these studies, one can depict the total political system of a medieval Muslim state as consisting of an overarching governmental structure and a series of smaller social groups below in which the rest of the population are grounded. The upper circle is based on patronage, the lower ones on many different criteria. There were channels of communication between circles, although these were rarely used. But the system was not completely particularistic, for all men belonged to several circles, according to their social role of the moment.

1981, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*. Xavier Centre of Historical Research Studies Series no. 2. (New Delhi: Concept Publishers). **

This book consists of five previously published articles, and two unpublished papers, all of them dealing with aspects of the history of coastal western Indian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The five previously published papers are revised versions of their originals. They are ‘The Goa Archives and Indian History’ (1973-4); ‘Corruption and Corsairs’ (1979); ‘The People and Politics of Portuguese India’ (1977; under a new title, ‘The Crowd in Portuguese India’); ‘Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy’ (1973; under a new title: ‘The Port City of Goa: Policy and Practice in the Sixteenth Century’); ‘Wealth and Power’ (1973; under a new title, ‘Banyas and Brahmins: Their Role in the Portuguese Indian Economy’). The two unpublished papers comprise the preface and a stand-alone chapter on Indian Seafarers in the sixteenth century.

1979, Co-editor, (with Blair B. Kling), *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion*, (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii). **

This volume, for which Pearson also wrote the introduction and a stand-alone chapter (see below), is a collection of essays by former colleagues and students of Holden Furber, who worked at the University of Pennsylvania in 1948-73. Pearson credits Furber as being the ‘pioneer’ of modern South Asian history in the USA. He and

the volume's other contributors built on a relatively peripheral aspect of Furber's publications, but which the latter explored in an address to the Association for Asian Studies in 1969: the issue of Asian-Western relations. This was a particularly provocative topic at the time of the volume's conception and publication, given the political climate during and post-Vietnam War. The contributors problematized prevailing narratives that identified a 'Golden Age' in Asia's pre-colonial past, which also forecasted another in the near future. They did so through analyses of Asian-Western encounters during the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries in regions as distant from each other as the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and China. Their contribution was to place European influence in this era in its proper contexts – as neither as a burgeoning colonialism nor as a peripheral factor in Asia's history. The collection speaks to the diversity of Asian-Western relations in the pre-colonial period.

1979, 'Corruption and Corsairs in Sixteenth-Century Western India: A Functional Analysis', in *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion*, edited by Blair B. Kling and M. N. Pearson, (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii): pp. 15-42. **

This chapter contests the prevailing historiography of the time that used the terms 'corruption' and 'corsairs' without due definition and problematisation. Firstly, Pearson traces the prominence of 'corruption' in the English-language historiography of the Portuguese Empire to the 'whiggish' views of the English Indian Civil Service and its affiliates. Far from being 'corrupt,' he argues, Portuguese officials were expected to make profits from their posts. This was a symptom of there being no clear distinction between public and private property. Thus, the juxtaposition between 'corrupt Portuguese' and 'non-corrupt English' might be replaced by 'pre-modern' and 'modern' forms of administration. Similarly, he argues that historians should not use the term 'corsairs' as an all-encapsulating group. People considered by the Portuguese to be 'corsairs' were a heterogeneous body of distinct but interconnected peoples that included the rulers of Calicut, local merchants, pirates, guerrilla auxiliaries, and even some legitimate traders. The broader implications of the article emphasise the need to analyse past societies on their own terms, and to reject 'presentist' and Eurocentric perspectives and definitions.

1979, 'Heads in the Sand', in *Sport in History*, edited by Richard Cashman and M.M. McKernan, (Brisbane): 272-292.

1979, 'Looking Outward: Colonial Goa in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*, edited by Dilip Basu, (Santa Cruz: Center for South Pacific Studies, University of California): pp. 8-10. **

This chapter is an extended abstract for a paper Pearson gave in absentia at a conference entitled *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia* at the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California in 1976. Participants at the conference were charged with contributing to an interdisciplinary and comparative dialogue on Asian urban history in light of recent findings. Pearson's contribution was a history of Goa during the first century of Portuguese occupation. He noted the structural changes within Goa during this time, specifically from a space that was self-sufficient in food and which primarily looked inward for trade, to one that looked to the ocean for both commerce and food imports. He then contextualised this broader shift with other port cities in Gujarat and the Malabar Coast. Despite Goa's prominence in western and imperial minds, it never reached the regional prowess of some other longer-standing, maritime-facing commercial centres, such as Surat, during the sixteenth century.

1977, 'The People and Politics of Portuguese India during the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Essays Concerning the Socio-Economic History of Brazil and Portuguese India*, edited by Dauril Alden and Warren Dean (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida): pp. 1-25. (Also published as 'The Crowd in Portuguese India', in *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*. Xavier Centre of Historical Research Studies Series no. 2. (New Delhi: Concept Publishers): pp. 41-66. **

This chapter builds on the work of George Rudé, who used a bottom-up approach to understand revolts in north-western Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Pearson's contribution is to take this approach and apply it to an earlier, colonial setting. His main focus is on Goa, but other Portuguese-influenced regions in India and Indonesia are also drawn into the analysis. He uses these case studies to examine the political activities of non-elite Portuguese and part-Portuguese populations. He argues that the nature of Portuguese presence had two core political effects on the lower orders of Portuguese societies in Asia – highly militarised and distant from the colonial metropole they were. Firstly, there was a sense of solidarity amongst the Portuguese in peaceful times. Secondly, there were heightened levels of tension and violence in times of increased insecurity. Such violence was significantly apparent during the seventeenth century as the Dutch and British challenged the Portuguese presence.

1977, 'European Relations with South Asian Muslims, 1500-1947', in *The Changeless and the Changing in Islamic-Arabic-Hispanic Cultures, Cultural Studies Conference*, (Goulburn, NSW: Goulburn College of Advanced Education): pp. 87-103. **

This is a formative essay on the history of Muslims on the Indian Sub-Continent. It is one of the first examples scholarship that focused on Muslims, as opposed to Hindus, in this regional context. Pearson undertook to fill this historiographical gap through an analysis of European-Muslim relations from the fifteenth century until the end of European colonial rule in 1947.

1976, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press; New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). (Second Indian edition printed in 1984; Japanese translation printed in 1984 by Iwanami Shoten in Tokyo.) **

This, Michael Pearson's first monograph, based on his PhD thesis (University of Michigan, 1971) caused a considerable stir in academic circles. Written in an accessible, unpretentious style, very different from that of many historians of India, this book argues against the conventional Eurocentric concept that from the time they entered the Indian Ocean arena from ca 1500, the Portuguese imposed economic and political dominance by virtue of their military prowess and imperial fervour. In South Asia, they encountered polities such as the Mughal Empire that were far more militarily powerful. However, these powerful indigenous polities were hinterland powers that drew their revenue essentially from agriculture. They had little direct interest in oceanic affairs, and showed little opposition to European fleets. The Portuguese attempted to establish control over the maritime trade of Gujarat, initially through ruthless attacks on coastal towns, and subsequently through the imposition of a *cartaz*, or pass system that taxed indigenous shipping. However, Pearson argues the Portuguese did not possess sufficient resources to sustain a monopolistic system far from home, and quickly weakened. They never achieved the dominance conventionally ascribed to them, indigenous rulers remaining in political control and Gujarati merchants economically vibrant. Despite arousing the ire of critics such as R.O.W. Goertz, this book has stood the test of time. This and his subsequent works have, alongside those of scholars such as K.N. Chaudhuri and Anthony Reid, inspired a revisionist movement that has reinserted indigenous actors to the heart of historical change in the Indian Ocean world.

1976, 'Shivaji and the Decline of the Mughal Empire'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 35.2: pp. 221-236. **

Conventional explanations of the decline of Mughal power in India emphasize peasant revolt against taxation, overextension of imperial expansion in the south, the

military costs of suppression and expansion, and over-expansion of the nobility. Here Pearson argues that, while the Mughals possessed the military power to sustain their empire, they were undermined by their failure to develop a systematic method of succession to the throne. This meant that each succession was embroiled in internal conflict that distracted attention from other sources of danger to the empire, and provided the opportunity for challenges to the regime such as that posed by Shivaji Bhonsle, first Chhatrapati of the Maratha Empire (r. 1674-1680).

1973-74, 'The Goa Archives and Indian History'. *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 13.4: pp. 205-211. **

The standard reference guide to the historical manuscripts in the Goa Archives, the vast bulk of which is in Portuguese, is P.S.S. Pissurlencar's *Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa* (Bastorá, Goa: Tip. Rangel, 1955). C.R. Boxer has written the fullest guide to these archives in English in his 'A Glimpse of the Goa Archives' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14.2 (1952), 299-324. However, Boxer limited his enquiry to the period 1600-1740 and to the Portuguese impact across the Indian Ocean world. Pearson's short appraisal of their contents in this article concentrates chiefly on the importance of the Goa Archives for Indian history, thus opening the way for a number of scholars to enrich their studies of India.

1973, 'Wealth and Power: Indian Groups in the Portuguese Indian Economy'. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 3.1: pp. 36-44. **

In this article, Pearson analyses the economic impact of the Portuguese in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He argues that, contrary to the conventional view, the Portuguese failed to establish economic dominance. Focusing notably, though not exclusively, on the Gujarati *vaniyas* and Sarawat Brahmins, he demonstrates that indigenous groups remained economically vibrant, to the extent that the Portuguese were obliged to work with them, often on an equal basis – which in turn gave these Indian groups considerable political leverage.

1973, 'Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670'. *Mare Luso-Indicum*, 3: pp. 61-73. **

In this article, Pearson expands the theme of his article 'Wealth and Power' in exploring the history of Hindus, notably Saraswat Brahmins and Gujarati *vaniyas* in Western India, with a particular focus on seventeenth-century Goa. He concludes that despite discriminatory regulations imposed by the Portuguese, such groups played a vital economic role in the Portuguese Indian economy.

1972 Co-author (with Diana Tonsich), 'The Partition of India and Pakistan: The Emergence of Bangladesh', in *The Problem of Partition: Peril to World Peace*, edited by T.E. Hachey, (Chicago: Rand McNally): pp. 132-173.

1972, 'Political Participation in Mughal India'. *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 9.2: pp. 113-131. **

In this article, Pearson argues against the tendency of scholars in the 1960s and early 1970s, notably Americans, B.S. Cohn, Philip Calkins and Karen Leonard, as well as some Indian scholars such as Ashin Das Gupta, that the disintegration of the Mughal Empire led to the emergence of new political systems and actors. He contends rather that such systems had their roots in the powerful commercial classes of India who, largely politically quiescent in prosperous times, interjected in political life when they felt threatened or otherwise deemed necessary to promote or defend their economic interests – as during the economic disruption that accompanied the breakup of the Mughal Empire.

1969, 'The Spanish 'Impact' on the Philippines'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 12.2: pp. 165-186. **

Here, Pearson continues his critique of conventional Eurocentric perspectives that divided the history of extra-European regions into pre- and post-European eras. In examining the history of the Philippines under Spanish rule from 1575 to 1770, he emphasizes that whilst the European impact on local societies may have been significant at the elite level, it was not as significant at lower levels, notably in the economic sphere where, for example, traditional Filipino land use and agricultural practices remained largely unaltered. The Spanish did seize some local labour resources, but insufficiently to alter traditional structures of, and access to, labour. The one area the Spanish dominated was long-distance maritime trade, but Pearson argues that this was inconsiderable, and an arena of economic activity traditionally avoided by Filipinos.

1969, 'Cafilas and Cartazes: The Portuguese and Western Indian Trade in the Sixteenth Century'. in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress - 30th Session, Bhagalpur*, edited by P.C. Gupta, R.K. Chaudhary, S.C Misra and V.D. RaoPatna, (Kolkata: Indian History Congress): pp. 200-207. **

In this paper, first presented at the Indian History Conference in 1968, Pearson investigates Portuguese trade on the west coast of India in the sixteenth century, and the reaction to it of the traders of Calicut and Gujarat. He outlines the pre-European trading patterns, and concludes that indigenous traders continued to participate vigorously in the trade of West India despite Portuguese aspirations to establish a

commercial monopoly.

1968, 'Spain and Spanish Trade in Southeast Asia'. *Journal of Asian History*, 2.2: pp. 109-129 (republished in *The World of the Indian Ocean*). **

In this, Pearson's first journal article, written while a PhD student at the University of Michigan (PhD 1971), he establishes the leitmotif of much of his earlier work: an exploration of the conventional Eurocentric historical view that, from the time of the 'Voyages of Discovery', Europeans established military and economic dominance in the Indian Ocean world (IOW). Here Pearson examines Spanish commercial relations with the eastern sector of the IOW. He starts by underlining that Spanish economic connections with the region were different from those of other European powers because, unlike the latter, they found themselves largely excluded from intra-IOW country as the Philippines declined as a regional trading centre. Thereafter they set their eyes chiefly on China, the products of which they were obliged to exchange for gold shipped from Spanish America. This reinvigorated Manila as an entrepôt particularly for Chinese goods, notably for the Portuguese in the Southeast Asia. However, Spanish trade with Asia gradually declined. First, it was contrary to the mercantilist regulations of Spain whose merchants and manufacturers applied pressure on the government to ban it. The Spanish government responded by imposing a number of trading restrictions, but these had little impact. More damaging, however, were a combination of Dutch attacks on Spanish ships, the Japanese refusal to trade with them, the dangers of the trans-Pacific route taken by Spanish galleons, and internal corruption.